

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 EUR-12 ISO-00 IOE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00
USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02
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O R 031331Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2600
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONGEN CAPETOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 0601

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, XA
SUBJECT: SOUTHERN AFRICA; CONVERSATION WITH FRG FOREIGN
OFFICE IO DIRECTOR REDIES

SUMMARY: FRG PERM REP VON WECHMAR AND FOREIGN OFFICE IO
DIRECTOR REDIES DISCUSSED PROSPECTS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICAN PRO-
BLEMS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL OVER THE NEXT MONTH. END SUMMARY.

1. FRG'S PERM REP VON WECHMAR BROUGHT DR. HELMUT REDIES,
DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION DIVISION, FRG FOREIGN
MINISTRY, TO CALL ON AMBASSADOR YOUNG MARCH 1. THE CONVERSATION
MAINLY CENTERED ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS IN THE CONTEXT OF
THE MARCH SECURITY COUNCIL SCHEDULE.

2. IN AN OPENING COMMENT, REDIES SAID HE WAS A BIT CONCERNED
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THAT THE MARCH SC BUSINESS WOULD LEAD OFF WITH A DEBATE ON
APARTHEID. HE SPECULATED THAT SUCH A DEBATE MIGHT GENERATE
SEVERAL KINDS OF PROPOSALS WHICH THE US COULD NOT AGREE TO,
MAKING A BAD SETTING FOR FURTHER US POLICY INITIATIVES.

3. YOUNG SAID HE HAD HOPED TO BE ABLE TO MEET WITH SALIM,
HARRIMAN & CAMANO IN NEW YORK THIS WEEK, BUT HE

FOUND SEVERAL OF THEM ABSENT FOR VARIOUS REASONS. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD MET WITH SWAPO REPRESENTATIVES (VICE PREIDENT MUYONGO AND NEW YORK REPRESENTATIVE GURIRAB) EARLIER MARCH 1 (SEPTTEL). HE HOPES TO SEE TANZANIAN PERM REP SALIM IN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO. IN TALKING WITH THE AFRICANS, YOUNG SAID HE WOULD SEEK GENERALLY TO CONVINCE THEM THAT THERE IS NOW A MOVEMENT TOWARD REAL CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. YOUNG SAID HE WOULD MAKE CLEAR TO THEM, HOWEVER, THAT OUR EFFORTS WOULD BE TO SEEK CHANGE IN REASONABLE WAYS. WE WOULD THEREFORE HAVE NO COMPUNCTION ABOUT REJECTING PURELY PROPAGANDA RESOLUTIONS. HE REMARKED THAT WE WOULD OF COURSE NEED ALL POSSIBLE HELP FROM THE FRG ON OUR APPROACH TO THE AFRICANS.

4. YOUNG SAID HE TENDS TO FOCUS ON THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM BECAUSE IT IS ON THIS PROBLEM MORE THAN RHODESIA OR APARTHEID THAT THE UN COULD BE MOST HELPFUL. HE WONDERED WHETHER IT WOULD NOT BE USEFUL TO LAUNCH AN EFFORT TO MOBILIZE WESTERN OPINION PRIVATELY AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA ON THE NAMIBIAN ISSUE. ESPECIALLY AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE RECENT EC-9 STATEMENT, IT MIGHT BE EFFECTIVE TO ARRANGE A COORDINATED DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICA BY THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (US, UK, FRANCE, FRG AND CANADA). SUCH A DEMARCHE COULD BE MADE SIMULTANEOUSLY IN THE FIVE CAPITALS. YOUNG SAID HE THOUGHT SUCH A MOVE MIGHT BE EFFECTIVE IN IMPRESSING THE AFRICANS WITH WESTERN SERIOUSNESS TO WORK FOR CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT WOULD OF COURSE BE NECESSARY TO CONVINCE THE AFRICANS THAT THESE WESTERNERS ARE PREPARED TO BACK UP THE DEMARCHE WITH ACTION IF THE SOUTH AFRICANS DID NOT RESPOND SATISFACTORILY. YOUNG COMMENTED THAT HE HAS

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LITTLE FAITH THAT EVEN AN ARMS EMBARGO WOULD HAVE MUCH REAL EFFECT ON SOUTH AFRICAN CAPABILITIES TO MAINTAIN ITS HOLD OVER NAMIBIA, SINCE THEY NOW HAVE A CAPABILITY TO PRODUCE MOST OF THE ARMAMENTS NEEDED IN NAMIBIA DOMESTICALLY. THE WESTERN DEMARCHE, HOWEVER, COULD HAVE AN IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT.

5. YOUNG SAID IT WAS BECAUSE OF THE BASIC MANDATE OF THE UN IN RELATION TO NAMIBIA THAT HE FEELS WE SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM AHEAD OF APARTHEID. HE SAID HE SEES NAMIBIA NOT AS SWAPO'S PROBLEM, BUT MORE AS THE UN'S. BECAUSE OF THIS RELATIONSHIP IT MIGHT EVEN BE CONCEIVABLE TO INITIATE AN APPROACH TO NEGOTIATION OF THE PROBLEM BY A COMMITTEE OF THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

6. IN RESPONSE TO REDIES' QUESTION ABOUT THE POSSIBLE SWAPO REACTION TO SUCH A PROPOSAL, YOUNG RECOUNTED THAT HE HAS TOLD THE REPRESENTATIVES OF SWAPO HE BELIEVES THEY ARE STRONGER DIPLOMATICALLY THAN THEY ARE MILITARILY. THE FIVE-POWER NEGOTIA-

TING COMMITTEE, OF COURSE, WOULD VOLUNTEER TO KEEP SWAPO CLOSELY INFORMED AND REFLECT THEIR ATTITUDES, TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE UN TO THE PROBLEM AND THE NEED TO MAKE A SERIOUS EFFORT WITH DIPLOMATIC APPROACHES, HOWEVER, MEANS THAT THE WESTERNERS HAVE THE BEST CHANCE OF COMPELLING CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 0601

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

7. REDIES ASKED WHETHER ONLY WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE NEGOTIATING GROUP. YOUNG INDICATED THAT HE HAD NO FIRM IDEA OF LIMITING THE GROUP. HE SUGGESTED THAT, IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS KIND OF AN APPROACH, THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT BE A TOLERABLE AND USEFUL PRESENCE. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, HOWEVER, COULD BECOME DIFFUCULT. IN ANY EVENT, WHAT IS NEEDED IS TO IMPRESSS BOTH THE BLACK AFRICANS AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS WITH THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE WESTERN COMMITMENT TO CHANGE. THE KIND OF DELEGATION OUTLINED ABOVE WOULD CARRY THE KIND OF WEIGHT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS COULD NOT AFFORD TO REJECT. IF THEY DID REJECT THIS DIPLOMATIC APPROACH, THE BLAME OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY WOULD FALL ON THEM, AND WE WOULD HAVE SUCCEEDED IN MAKING A CREDIBLY SERIOUS ATTEMPT AT A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. IF THE

ATTEMPT FAILED, WE WOULD THEN TURN TO CONSIDERATION OF SANCTIONS
OR OTHER MEASURES TO ENFORCE OUR COMMITMENT. ONE POINT THAT
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NEEDS TO BE SOLD TO THE AFRICANS IS THAT IN ORDER TO MAKE THIS
ATTEMPT WE NEED A MINIMUM OF TWO OR THREE MONTHS' TIME. THIS
WOULD BE PART OF THE MESSAGE WE WOULD PRESENT TO SWAPO AND OTHER
AFRICAN LEADERS TO GET THEIR COOPERATION IN PROTECTING THE
NECESSARY TIME PERIOD.

8. AMBASSADOR VON WECHMAR SPECULATED THAT IN ORGANIZING
THE SECURITY COUNCIL AROUND SUCH A SCHEME, HE THOUGHT
NIGERIAN PERM REP HARRIMAN MIGHT BE THE MOST DIFFICULT TO
PERSUADE BECAUSE OF HARRIMAN'S ENTHUSIASM FOR A NUMBER OF
VERSIONS OF RESOLUTIONS HE HOPES TO HAVE APPROVED BY THE
COUNCIL. YOUNG SAID HE THOUGHT HARRIMAN COULD BE PER-
SUADED; OBASANJO AND GARBA HAVE TOLD HIM IN LAGOS THAT
NIGERIA WOULD SUPPORT A DIPLOMATIC EFFORT IF THE US GOVT DOES.

9. YOUNG WENT ON TO INFORM THE GERMANS THAT A VISIT TO THE
UN BY PRESIDENT CARTER IS UNDER CONSIDERATION. YOUNG THOUGHT
THAT IF IT COULD BE ARRANGED, A MAJOR STATEMENT BY THE PRESI-
DENT TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN NEW YORK ON APARTHEID
AND THE PROBLEMS OF CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA MIGHT LEND FORCE
TO OUR CLAIM THAT WE ARE COMMITTED TO REAL CHANGE. HE SAID
HE WAS THINKING OF THE POSSIBILITY OF THE PRESIDENT MAKING HIS
SPEECH ON OR ABOUT MARCH 22 OR 23.

10. VON WECHMAR SPECULATED ABOUT SEVERAL PROCEDURAL FACETS OF
THE SECURITY COUNCIL MANAGEMENT OF THE PROBLEM. IT WAS
GENERALLY AGREED THAT YOUNG SHOULD MAKE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT
INFORMALLY AND PRIVATELY WITH THE OTHER FOUR WESTERN MEMBERS
OF THE COUNCIL, HOPEFULLY AS EARLY AS MARCH 15. YOUNG ALSO
INDICATED HIS INTENTION TO SEEK MEETINGS WITH KEY AFRICAN GROUP
LEADERS. HE SAID HE HAD NO PRECONCEIVED NOTIONS ABOUT
WHERE THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE FIVE-POWER GROUP AND THE
SOUTH AFRICANS MIGHT TAKE PLACE, BUT HE IS INCLINED TO
FAVOR CENTERING THE ACTION HERE IN NEWYORK. VON WECH-
MAR SPECULATED THAT IF IT PROVED IMPOSSIBLE TO ARRANGE
THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON NAMIBIA AHEAD OF APARTHEID,
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AS SEEMS INCREASINGLY LIKELY, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO INTER-
JECT OUR DISCUSSION OF NAMIBIA INTO THE APARTHEID DEBATE AND
IN EFFECT TWIST IT TO AN EMPHASIS ON NAMIBIA. HE MENTIONED
MAURITIAN PERM REP RAMPHUL'S PET IDEA OF A COUNCIL MEETING

IN AFRICA AND REFERRED ALSO TO THE PROPOSAL FOR A CONFERENCE
IN MAPUTO.

11. REDIES AND VON WECHMAR EXPRESSED APPROVAL OF THE KIND
OF IDEA SUGGESTED BY YOUNG. THEY SAID THE FRG WOULD BE EAGER
TO COOPERATE IN WORKING OUT SOME FORWARD MOTION ALONG THESE
LINES AND EMPHASIZED THEIR FEELING OF NEED FOR CONSULTATIONS
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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Message Attributes

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